

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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P R 310934Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 525

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

S E C R E T TAIPEI 7708

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDITION OF EXDIS CAPTION)

EXDIS

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS PFOR TW CH UR US

SUBJECT/ PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO INFORMS US OF APPARENT SOVIET
OVERTURE

1. PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO ASKED ME TO CALL ON HIM AT HIS
OFFICE THIS MORNING. FRED CHEN ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT.
PURPOSE WAS TO INFORM ME OF SOVIET APPROACH RELATIVE TO ROC
MADE IN MOSCOW DECEMBER 19-21 TO SIDNEY (HSU-HSIN) CHANG,
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY AT
FRESNO. PREMIER SAID DR. CHANG, AFTER ATTENDING SINO-AMERICAN
CONFERENCE ON MAINLAND CHINA AT TAIPEI IN MID-DECEMBER, WENT
TO BRUSSELS TO ATTEND A BELGIAN-SPONSORED CONFERENCE ON
-FOREIGN POLICY OF MAINLAND CHINA.- THERE HE MET BORIS N.
ZANEGIN, A RESEARCHER AT USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WHO
INDUCED HIM TO GO TO MOSCOW WITH HIM FOR 3 DAYS OF TALKS WITH
MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS AND INSTITUTES OF THE
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, THE LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
THE MOSCOW INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND THE FAR
EAST INSTITUTE. CHANG RETURNED TO TAIPEI JUST BEFORE
CHRISTMAS, OSTENSIBLY TO VISIT HIS PARENTS BUT ACTUALLY
TO GIVE A FULL REPORT ON THE MOSCOW CONVERSATIONS TO
WU CHUN-TSAI, DIRECTOR OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS, KMT CENTRAL
COMMITTEE. CHANG THEN RETURNED TO FRESNO. PREMIER NOTED
THAT CHANGE WAS IN MOSCOW IN 1970 TO ATTEND 13TH
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ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIIONAL ASSOCIATON OF
HISTORY, WHERE HEACHIEVED SOME PROMINENCE BY SUCCESSFULLY
INSISTING THAT THE FLAG OF THE ROC BE FLOWN ALONG WITH THE
OTHER FLAGS AT THE CONFERENCE SITE.

2. PREMIER SAID HE SURMISED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE CHOSEN CHANG AS THE MOST SUITABLE CONTACT POINT FOR THE RELAY OF MESSAGES TO THE ROC, ADDING THAT HE WAS "AFRAID THE RUSSIANS WILL CONTACT HIM AGAIN." PREMIER SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE SOVIET INITIATIVE WAS A "TECHNICAL MANUEVER" ON THEIR PART BUT HE DEEMED IT OF SUFFICIENT SIGNIFICANCE TO INFORM ME IMMEDIATELY. HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS "APPARENTLY WERE TRYING TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE ROC." HE SAID THAT IF SO, THEY WOULD NOT SUCCEED. HE SAID "WE WILL NEVER WANT TO DO ANYTHING IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE."

3. CCK THEN SUMMARIZED FOR ME THE FIVE RATHER DISJOINTED POINTS WHICH SIDNEY CHANG SAID THE SOVIETS HAD CONVEYED TO HIM FOR DELIVERY IN TAIPEI (APPARENTLY THE SOVIETS GAVE CHANG NOTHING IN WRITING). PREMIER READ FROM A DOCUMENT IN CHINESE WHICH APPARENTLY WAS PREPARED BY WU CHUN-TSAI AFTER HIS CONVERSATION WITH CHANG. PREMIER GAVE ME A COMPLETE COPY OF THIS DOCUMENT WHICH WE WILL SEND BY TELEGRAM AS SOON AS WE CAN TRANSLATE IT. GIST AS GIVEN BY CCK IS AS FOLLOWS:

POINT I -- THE PRESENT OFFICIAL POSTURE OF THE USSR IS THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE CHINA, WHICH INCLUDES TAIWAN. THE USSR WILL NOT INTERFERE IN INTERNAL CHINESE AFFAIRS AND WILL RECOGNIZE ANY CHINESE GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS EFFECTIVE CONTROL. BUT MAO DOES NOT EFFECTIVELY RULE CHINA. RUSSIA IS NOT THE ENEMY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. RUSSIA WISHES TO UNITE WITH ALL ANTI-MAO FORCES.

POINT II -- RUSSIA UNDERSTANDS THAT THE PEKING GOVERNMENT HAS PROCURED MILITARY MATERIAL FROM THE U.S., AND INTENDS TO USE SUCH MATERIAL TO ATTACK TAIWAN. MAO HAS ALREADY ACQUIESCED IN THE U.S. INTERFERENCE IN TAIWAN AFFAIRS, AND HAS THEREFORE ACCEPTED A TWO-CHINA SITUATION. IF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION SHOULD EXTEND DIPLOMATIC RE-SECRET

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COGNITION TO PEKING, THERE WOULD BE NO BAR TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN RECOGNITION OF TAIWAN.

POINT III -- THE FOREIGN POLICY OF RUSSIA IS BASED ENTIRELY ON REALISTIC CONSIDERATIONS. THE ROC IS ACTUALLY ON TAIWAN AND IS IN FULL CONTROL, A SITUATION WHICH WILL PROBABLY PREVAIL FOR 20-30 YEARS OR MORE. THE GOVERNMENT IN TAIPEI SHOULD KNOW THAT A POSSIBILITY EXISTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOME SORT OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND TAIPEI, AND THAT THIS MATTER IS UNDER CONSTANT STUDY IN MOSCOW. IT SEEMS IN MOSCOW THAT IT IS BEST TO USE ACADEMIC RATHER THAN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. IT APPEARS THAT THE RELATIONSHIP

SHOULD BE MORE OR LESS UNDER COVER AT FIRST, BUT IT MIGHT DEVELOP INTO A SEMI-OVERT OR FULLY OVERT RELATIONSHIP, DEPENDING ON CIRCUMSTANCES.

POINT IV-- AS LONG AS MAO REMAINS ALIVE, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF A RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN PEKING AND MOSCOW. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT A SINO-SOVIET WAR IS IN PROSPECT. RUSSIA WILL NOT STRIKE ANY FIRST BLOW AND IT IS ASSUMED THAT PEKING WOULD NOT DARE TO START HOSTILITIES, KNOWING THAT ITS MILITARY CAPABILITY IS INFERIOR TO THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. RUSSIA, UNFORTUNATELY, IS QUITE IGNORANT OF THE SITUATION IN THE ROC, BEING DEPENDENT MOSTLY ON THE NEWS APPEARING IN THE U.S. PRESS REGARDING TAIWAN. THE AUTHORITIES IN MOSCOW WERE QUITE CONCERNED AT THE ATTEMPT ON THE PREMIER'S LIFE IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1970 AND THEY WONDER IF THE PREMIER HAS GIVEN SERIOUS THOUGHT TO THE MATTER OF THE SUCCESSION TO THE LEADERSHIP ON TAIWAN.

POINT V -- RUSSIA CONSIDERS THAT THE ROC IS NOW UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE U.S. HOWEVER, IF RUSSIA SHOULD ENTER INTO RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN, IT IS PRESUMED THAT A U.S. MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM TWIAN WOULD BE THE CONSEQUENCE. RUSSIA IS STILL HOPEFUL THAT IT CAN EFFECT AN EVENTUAL RECONCILIATION WITH MAINLAND CHINA.

4. THE PREMIER REAFFIRMED AS I TOOK LEAVE OF HIM THAT ROC POLICY AGAINST ANY INVOLVEMENT WITH THE RUSSIANS

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IS ABSOLUTELY FIRM AND WILL NOT CHANGE. HE SAID NO OFFER FROM THE RUSSIANS WOULD ALTER THE ESTABLISHED POLICY OF "NO DEALINGS, PAST, PRESENT OR FUTURE."

5. I THANKED THE PREMIER FOR INFORMED US SO PROMPTLY AND FULLY OF A POSSIBLY SIGNIFICANT SOVIET GE TURE AND OF HIS REACTION THERETO. I SAID I WOULD TRANSMIT THE INFORMATION IMMEDIATELY TO WASHINGTON. I MADE NO FURTHER COMMENT.

6. EMBASSY WILL SUBMIT SOME OBSERVATIONS WITH THE FULL TRANSLATION OF THE MEMORANDUM.

MCCONAUGHY

NOTE: HANDLED AS EXDIS PER TAIPEI 0009 DATED 03 JAN 74

NOTE BY OCT: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER TAIPEI 009.

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